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THE CAUSES OF THE PRESENT DEPRESSION OF AFFAIRS IN THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA, AND ITS REMEDY.

A TRAVELLER in Jamaica will find a mansion-house on every estate, in which he is told the proprietor's family in bygone times used to reside. Many of these are handsome and commodious, but they are seldom now occupied, save, perhaps, by the attorney on his occasional visit, or by the curate, the stipendiary justice, or some local official, to whom they have been leased. In not a few instances they are falling to pieces.

A new system arose on the departure of the proprietors. The large profits which the monopoly of the sugar-market of Great Britain secured, enabled them to reckon on an income from the estates under an unfavourable, or even a wasteful system of management. Naturally desiring (as all do who can obtain it) the advantage and comfort for themselves and their families of a residence in England, they devolved the whole charge of their estates on attorneys or land-stewards, with authority to appoint overseers and others under them for the management and cultivation of the estates, and the manufacture and shipment of the crops. This has been for a very long time our system, under various modifications, according to the circumstances of the proprietor, and his relation to third parties, as consignees, creditors, or mortgagees. The times, however, are now greatly changed. We have nearly lost all the monopoly advantages, compulsory labour has been abolished, and we are called to enter on the field of active competition with the other sugar-growing countries of the world. Our system must therefore undergo corresponding alterations, and that speedily; otherwise we, and all concerned in property, may be involved in circumstances so ruinous, that it will be impossible to expect relief to the extent that may be required for our restoration to vigorous life. The remedy, however, I humbly think, is yet within our reach.

To make this the more evident, let us suppose the West India system of managing properties applied to England, and consider its effect on the landed interests of that country. To enable us to do this, it may be desirable, first, to consider what is the English system of management of estates, as distinguished from ours.

A nobleman or gentleman having estates in England, appoints an attorney or land-steward, with instructions, not to cultivate and send the produce of the estates to market, but to lease them to tenants who have or can borrow the capital necessary to stock and work them; and he receives his proportion of the profits in the shape of rent. If the farmer be industrious and enterprising, his share of the profits may of course be largely increased, as every man's ought to be who is willing to exercise skill, industry, and economy.

Should the proprietor, instead of doing this, direct his attorney to farm the estates, or, in our phraseology, "to enter upon, manage, cultivate, and carry on" the estates, situate, it may be, in sundry counties, and to employ overseers or farmers under them, and then become a permanent absentee in Greece or Italy, there to receive his annual account current, and the balance thereof, whatever it might be, is it in common sense or human nature to expect any thing but a gradual deterioration of his properties, and diminution of his yearly income? Will any land-steward or overseer, the best that ever was born, exercise the same scrupulous care, industry, and economy, in working for another, or for a far-away absentee, that he would or could in working for himself? It would be absurd to expect it. The best lands of England would, under our system, become valueless as sources of wealth to the proprietors. Were it attempted there, it would not be endured for two years. The proprietors would feel compelled, either to lease to working tenants, or personally to superintend their own farming operations.

This system of ours being the disadvantageous thing I have described, it has been persisted in for many reasons, until all affairs have been at length brought to a stand. Our capital has been exhausted on fruitless efforts to make the old system pay under circumstances wholly altered, and a change is inevitable. Until it be accomplished, our present distress and depression must continue. I bring no charges against managers of estates or their overseers. There are not a few instances amongst them of life having been sacrificed to the labours and anxieties which their situations have brought on them. But they are required and expected to do the impossible thing of making an evil tree produce good fruit. No farming can yield profit unless the farmer himself be present to engage his servants, superintend the work, and pay the labourers' wages. What farm can be profitably managed by the farmer's deputy? What would in such case become of the small profits or savings which an ever-watchful, anxious man, who has his rent to pay and his family to provide for, would effect by his daily and hourly superintendence of every thing; and who, following "poor

Richard's" advice, took care of the pence, knowing that thereby the pounds would take care of themselves? All those small things which compose the profits, not of farming only, but of most other businesses, would be lost; and it would only be where profits were out of all ordinary proportion, and easily worked out, that any beneficial result could be looked for, where the great duty of superintendence was left to be discharged by deputies. And yet it is by deputies, and the deputies of deputies, that the greater part of West India farms are managed. Is not the present general ruin of their interests just what might have been expected, on the opening of the sugar-market to other competitors?

This is very well understood and fully admitted in Jamaica. How common to find estates sinking the fortunes of the absentee proprietors year by year, while there are parties on the spot willing to embark their means, or able to procure means, to lease, or gradually to purchase, with a perfect assurance that by care and economy, and their own personal attention, they could work out for themselves an ample recompense! But to this I will again refer.

A large number of the estates are in debt, and are being worked by money borrowed at a very heavy cost; generally, I believe, at about 11 per cent. per annum. The legal rate of interest is 6 per cent.; and, when the proprietor keeps his account with the agent who makes the required advances, there is, of course, the usual charge of commission of 5 per cent. Added to which, there is the disadvantage which frequently accompanies these arrangements, of the proprietor being under obligation to send his sugars to a particular market, to favour the lender in certain other respects. But, could the money be surely and regularly had, even at 11 per cent., I believe it will be admitted, that such is the profit of sugar cultivation, skilfully and carefully attended to by one on the spot having the immediate interest in the result, that it would be embarked in and carried on by numbers of residents, to the great advantage of themselves and the country. Money, however, is not now to be had on loan in this island at any cost. The losses attendant on carrying on the old system under our altered circumstances, have brought many of the proprietors to poverty, and annihilated all credit. Many causes other than the real ones have been stated as the reason of our troubles, and remedies other than the real one zealously advocated. Our present position proves that every interest in the island, mercantile and agricultural, has at length been prostrated; and now, therefore, it is that we may light on the true remedy.

West India property is by no means the valueless thing that has been represented. But what is fixed property without a capital in money to work it? Stop, even for one month, in England, the facilities with which the man of property there can raise money on the credit of that property, and what would ensue but universal bankruptcy? Bad as our condition is, the wonder ought to be that it is not worse. The system under which our estates have been worked has failed to produce the expected profits, and therefore the confidence of the capitalists has been destroyed. No Jamaica security, however good, will now be looked at in the money market on any terms. It is only the first class of estates that can be worked under the present system at a profit. Inferior estates, however, may also be worked at an excellent profit, but the proprietor or lessee must be on the spot, with the necessary funds to superintend and economise. How forcibly I have heard it stated by proprietors, that by residence in the island they insured an income, which during their absence would never have been realised! The loss would have arisen either from defective management or want of economy. If proprietors, therefore, will not come out, they must sell or lease their plantations. Some, seeing this, are doing so; and, if this operation could be quickened by the judicious application of the capital of bankers or merchants, our properties would soon equal those of the best of England's colonies, and the advantage of free over slave labour would be abundantly demonstrated. Can the true value of free labour be said to have been tested under the system that has prevailed in the British West Indies? Certainly not. Let us never forget that Cuba and the Brazils have a resident proprietary, with whom our absentees must compete. Would that some plain Essex farmer, with adequate capital to make the experiment, would try his economics for one year on the poorest sugar plantation now at work in the island! The result would soon bring out bankers, whose healthy sagacious minds would discover the channels in which their capital could be trusted with safety.

Capital must be got. Let it be advanced to those who are working their own properties as proprietors or lessees, on such securities as they can give. This is not the place for describing these securities. But there is no doubt that the advances of capital to select individuals of that description could be as well secured as capitalists could reasonably desire or expect. Let men's property and character be, as in England, at least some recommendation to

the favour of the capitalist. Here neither seem now to be held as of much consideration. I will venture to say, that a man in this island with 10,000*l.* worth of undoubted value of property could not, on the security of it, borrow 1,000*l.* at 6 per cent. This is a sad state of things in a country where the profits of ready capital are large and certain, a colony of the richest nation of the earth, and within twenty-five days' sail of its capital.

But capital will flow in upon us so soon as the capitalists arrive at a more correct understanding of our position. Who can blame them for their present backwardness? They have seen the distresses or the ruin of the proprietary body—it has been unceasingly proclaimed and urged in England, both inside and outside of Parliament; and the tale was a true one; but the causes of the ruin have not been truly stated. It is the system that has ruined them, as it would every landholder who had not the protection of monopoly prices. Let capitalists know the real state of matters, and again they will look on us; for the capital may be effectually secured and most profitably invested in this island, both by the idle and the active capitalist; and, if need be, it may now be realized with facilities scarcely inferior to what obtain in England. The business of the island has often been managed in ways most unsatisfactory to those at a distance; but the causes that led to that have been mainly attributable to the absence of those who were personally interested in the result. Our future prosperity must depend on those having property in the island being present to manage their own affairs, as well as the public business.

All wealth here must, of course, depend on the prosperity of the agricultural interest. Were that secured, the merchants on both sides of the water would be carrying on their old relations, subject to far fewer fluctuations than heretofore, and therefore under greater encouragement to keep up and enlarge them. The losses sustained by the old proprietors, in their endeavours to keep up the old system in our altered circumstances, have been very great; but I trust they will not, without further examination of their position, withdraw. Let them look candidly on, and they will see how obvious and inevitable have been their disappointments, and how certain must be a very opposite result, if the system be changed.

The review of past errors is painful; but it is our life to make it. Let us not be dismayed at the results we may arrive at, so long as we are directed by a spirit of sincerity to do what is right. We have no reason to fear any existing competitors. There are no sugar-growing countries so well fitted as the islands of the West Indies, by the vast amount of capital already sunk there in works, roads, bridges, wharves, and everything necessary for abridging labour and for economical culture and manufacture of the commodity. It is not the work of a few years to accomplish what has been done in the West Indies, the sinking of a couple of millions in erecting buildings and settling sugar estates, and fitting the country with all conveniences for the manufacture and transport of the article. Wages are not high; but our system of agriculture is so far behind that of Europe that we are only now thinking of the *general* application of the plough, the harrow, and the wheelbarrow, as means of abridging labour.

As to the alleged unwillingness of the negroes to work, I have no doubt that it was an evil which was felt in various districts for some time after the abolition of slavery. There was a contest betwixt parties. The master or his agent was anxious to keep down the wages, and the freeman to bring his labour to the highest market. Some of the latter class deemed that more money could be made by working on their own private account, than for an employer; others were discontented with employers, who frequently were not very conciliatory; and, what was still worse, in many cases the stipulated wages were not punctually paid; and from the payments, when given, deductions of a very undue amount, in name of rent, were frequently made. Each party has thus done injury to the other and to the general prosperity of the country; but both, I believe, are now satisfied that the warfare is a profitless one, and it has in consequence almost wholly stopped. The irregularity in payment of the wages is an evil which is severely felt all over the island. The planters have exhausted themselves in these struggles, and to all other troubles has been added a series of unpropitious seasons since the year 1838. So little, however, can labour be said to be scarce in the island, that it is not uncommon now to have grievous complaints from negroes that employment is not to be had, and they are in many places suffering severely in consequence. We have now a considerably greater population than the very limited means of our capitalists enable us to employ, though *with means* we could profitably employ double the number. If our properties here were worked by those having the means to pay wages, labourers could easily be got. And were such parties able and willing at some time to give their personal superintendence, these properties would yield such profits as would effectually put the detractors of the free system to the blush all over the world.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DANISH WEST INDIA ISLANDS, RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED TO THE KING OF DENMARK.

THERE is an inseparable connexion between the crime of the slave-trade and that of slavery. If it be a wrong of the most flagrant character to purchase our fellow-men in Africa, and sell them in the islands of the West Indies, it is assuredly criminal to retain in bondage the victims of this odious commerce or their descendants. It is true that slavery has long been allowed by law, but we believe that this circumstance can no more be a justification of its continuance in the sight of that God, who is our common Parent

and Judge, than it would be for the prosecution of the slave-trade at this hour. It is also deserving of serious consideration, that those beneficial effects which it was supposed would result to the slaves already introduced into the islands from the abolition of the trade, have proved to a great extent illusory.

Slavery is unjust. It exacts toil without an adequate recompense. It is cruel, because, by withholding this recompense, the fear or application of punishment remains the only stimulus to exertion. There is also a constant tendency to abuse in the possession of the almost absolute power possessed by the slave master. It is in a high degree unfriendly to the advancement of civilization, morality, and religion.

Of the cruelty of slavery the returns of the slave population in the West India colonies of Denmark furnish incontrovertible evidence. These show that, in a long series of years, ending with 1840, there have only been three in which there has not been an excess of deaths over births. This excess of mortality has, indeed, been considerably less of late than at an earlier period; but, from the best information accessible to us, it was, in the four years terminating in 1840, respectively 62, 74, 94, and 63 persons. Thus does slavery reverse the order of the Divine Author of man's existence. Nor can the fact be explained by the allegation that this result is produced by the demoralization of the slaves, or by neglect on the part of mothers among them. To whatever extent such an allegation is true, it is almost wholly the consequence of slavery, in a country where missionaries have laboured for so long a period. Hayti, with less advantages of persons willing and able to instruct the people of that land, and little if at all less demoralized, owing to this deficiency, has nearly doubled its population during the same time in which the slaves of St. Croix have been reduced nearly one-third. Such are the different results of slavery and freedom upon human life. There can be no doubt that the causes which thus abridge the period of man's existence, and prevent the natural increase of population, likewise occasion a large amount of suffering, whether they be excessive toil, privations, or cruel punishments. We find several admissions of the unfavourable situation of the slaves in the Danish colonies made by Commodore Dahlerup, in the account of his recent visit to the Danish West India islands. This writer regards the condition of the domestic slaves as by no means satisfactory, notwithstanding their physical advantages are greatly superior to those of the field slaves. We infer from this to what an extent the latter are deprived of the comforts of life, of which one instance is given in the miserable dwellings that some of them occupy, to the fatal injury of their health.

It is now forty years since the slave-trade was abolished by Denmark. During that long period very little progress in civilization appears to have been made by the slaves, if we may judge from the very unfavourable statement on this subject made by the same individual. The education of their bondsmen has been generally neglected by the slave-owners, intent only on obtaining from them their daily amount of toil. How small is the present extent of school education afforded to slave children! The law requires that such instruction should be given daily, until these are eight years of age, and no longer, in order that they may thus early be accustomed to field labour, and render such services as they can afford at that tender age. We confess that we have no confidence in such an education, which, besides terminating at so early a period, will never have the cheerful concurrence of the masters, who know that with an increase of knowledge the slave will become more sensible of his wrongs, and that it will furnish him with increased means of escape from them. We learn from the same authority that concubinage is general among the slaves. One cause of this painful circumstance is, that slaves who are attached to each other often reside on different estates, and under such circumstances cannot visit each other frequently, or without much inconvenience. Thus does slavery interfere with the formation of the marriage tie, and obstruct its faithful observance when formed. Such facts alone are sufficient to expose the system to the reprobation of all those who desire to promote purity of morals, or the happiness of domestic life.

We further appeal to the evidence of Commodore Dahlerup, to show that there is little if any appearance of prosperity or progress in the chief West India island possessed by Denmark. We quote his language:—"The two towns, Christiansted and Fredericsted, appeared to me almost unaltered in fourteen years; there was no perceptible trace of progress or of increased prosperity; but this was perhaps the case in the least degree at Fredericsted, which, since trade has been free, has drawn to it a considerable portion of the exports. The old unsightly bridge of planks on which I landed, contrasted very unfavourably with the magnificent stone pier I had lately seen erecting at Bridge Town in Barbadoes. The uneven surface of the land at Christiansted, and the scattered situation of the houses on the rocks, contribute also something to give them a certain decayed appearance, to which, in some quarters, is to be added the wooden houses, nearly ready to fall down, whose unpainted walls and grey shingle roofs strengthen the imprint of poverty." Such a result is a natural effect of the decrease of the labouring population, and the injury thereby inflicted upon the other portion of the inhabitants.

We now turn from the picture of slavery, to present some of the principal results which have followed its abolition in the British colonies. These have been to promote, to an immense extent, the physical advantage and the moral and religious improvement of 750,000 emancipated slaves. The exports from Great Britain to her West India colonies during the last four years of slavery, were,

in 1831, 2,581,949*l.*; in 1832, 2,439,808*l.*; and in 1833, 2,597,587*l.* Since the Abolition Act came into operation, they were, during the apprenticeship, in 1834, 2,680,024*l.*; in 1835, 3,187,540; in 1836, 3,786,453*l.*; and in 1837, 3,456,745*l.* Since the commencement of entire freedom, in 1838, 3,393,441*l.*; in 1839, 3,986,598*l.*; and in 1840, 3,492,734*l.*

This increased amount of exports consists to a large extent of necessities and comforts, which the new freemen are now enabled to purchase for their own consumption, and shows to how great an extent their physical condition is improved. There is also much evidence contained in the Parliamentary Papers relative to the West Indies, to show that the attendance at schools, the number of marriages, and the observance of public worship, have greatly increased since the abolition of slavery. We likewise learn from the reports of missionary societies, and of travellers who have recently visited the English colonies, that the emancipated population have themselves subscribed a very large amount of money to the support of missions and schools. In Jamaica alone, so great has been their earnestness to promote these objects, that they have voluntarily contributed a sum little short of sixty thousand pounds sterling in one year for these and similar purposes.

In reference to the pecuniary result of emancipation to the planters, it is urged as an objection, that there has been a considerable decrease in the total exports from the colonies since that event took place. We think it may be shown that this fact is not incompatible with the present prosperity of the colonies, and that some of the causes to which it is attributable are calculated in an eminent degree to promote their future and lasting welfare.

The temporary decrease of the principal article of colonial export, sugar, is not incompatible with the present prosperity of the colonies, because the price of that production in the English market has proportionably advanced; by which means the planter has received as large a sum for the diminished quantity as he obtained for a larger quantity during slavery.

Among the causes of decrease it should be noticed, that, during the period of slavery, the whole of the field slaves capable of labour, consisting of men, women, and children, were worked during a large number of hours daily in the field, and besides this, night work was exacted in the mill during crop time. At present the hours of labour are limited to a more reasonable extent; mothers are not prevented from performing a mother's duties, and children are generally sent to school. A portion of field slaves have also found more profitable employment in towns, owing to the increased trade arising from the increased wants of a community of freemen. Besides these deductions from field labour, which no humane and reasonable person can regret, serious droughts have greatly injured the crops, and lessened the productiveness of some of the principal colonies. There are already indications that the causes of decrease in the production of sugar have in a great degree ceased. There was an increase of 300,000 cwt. in the exports of 1842, compared with 1841; and it is expected that a further increase will be found in those of the present year, unless prevented by the late earthquake in Antigua or by unfavourable weather. For evidence on these subjects we refer to the Parliamentary Papers relative to the West Indies.

There is one British island which presents a striking resemblance to St. Croix, in the long period that missionaries have laboured in it, and where the population is large in proportion to its extent of surface. This island, Antigua, is also very near the islands belonging to Denmark. In Antigua slavery was terminated at once, without an intermediate system of "apprenticeship;" and emancipation has consequently existed there nine years, four years longer than in the other sugar colonies of Great Britain. From this island there has been an increase of exports, as compared with the period of slavery, notwithstanding one year of serious drought. The improvement of morality in that island may be judged of by the following statement, showing the increase of marriages since freedom has been established. The number of these was, in the latter years of slavery,—

1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.
29	27	46	44	56	89

During freedom they have been as follows:—

1834.	1835.	1836.	1837.	1838.	1839.	1840.
202	476	329	246	316	461	554

We have the following evidence of the undiminished value of property, contained in the Parliamentary Papers:—

"That the value of landed property in this island is not deteriorated since the abolition of slavery is generally admitted. An estate of 388 acres was recently sold at the reputed sum of 15,000*l.* sterling, to a gentleman already largely interested in the soil; and it was considered a very low price. It is quite possible that it may refund him the purchase-money in five years, allowing one bad season to intervene."—*Statement of William Walker, Special Magistrate.*

We cite one further extract from the same report, which shows how easy and beneficial is the change from slavery to freedom:—

"Perhaps no more striking proof can be adduced of the ready adaptation of the labouring population of Antigua to a state directly the reverse of that in which from birth they had existed—the one being a state of coercion, the other comparatively of license—than the simple fact, that in one moment 30,000 slaves became free, without the smallest tendency to popular outbreak, without the occurrence of any individual instance of turbulence or outrage: and more than this, that seven years have now elapsed, exhibiting the same tranquil course of conduct on their part as a body, while the safe keeping of the peace of the country has been in-

trusted to a police force of 24 men, and a body of perhaps 250 rural constables, themselves in nearly every instance estates labourers; and for the last three years there has not even been a single company of militia in existence."

There is no reason to suppose that similar results would not take place, if slavery were at once abolished in the Danish West India Islands. We have adverted to the superior fertility of St. Croix, as compared with many of the British islands. This is shown by the average quantity of sugar produced by each slave. This, by an authority before us, appears to have been in Antigua, 608; whilst in St. Croix it is estimated at 1,016; a circumstance which may counterbalance the advantage possessed by the former of a superior market.

Whilst, however, we are convinced that an adherence to the great principles of justice is best adapted to promote the advantage of individuals and of countries, we are far from thinking that it is by pecuniary considerations that the act for which we plead should be decided. We value human life, happiness, and improvement, above all the gold that can possibly be set against them in the balance. On the same account we think that the restoration of the slave to that freedom, to which he has a sacred and indefeasible right, ought not to be rendered dependent upon the capacity of a government to pay a sum of money, as an indemnification for losses which, in a few instances, may be sustained by slave-holders.

The instance of Antigua shows that, in that island, no loss has been generally sustained by those, the former slaveholders, who were proprietors of estates. This is easily explained. The free labourer is glad to give his toil for a moderate expense, not exceeding that incurred by the charge of maintaining the slaves and their families. The profit on the plantation remains the same, and hence the land alone is of equal value with that for which the land and slaves could formerly have been sold. In the case of domestic slaves, a much more efficient service is obtained for a moderate recompense, by which the master sustains no real injury. The case of persons possessing only slaves whom they have been accustomed to let out for hire, and no other property, is one in which pecuniary loss is incurred, and these may be suitable objects for the consideration of government. It is a great advantage of freedom that the prosperity it procures—unlike the temporary benefits reaped from the forced labour of slaves—is permanent and progressive. In the one case, the profit is obtained at the expense of human life and future cultivation; in the other, by a system under which a constant increase of labourers takes place, and a constantly increasing future cultivation. This consideration is no small compensation for any temporary disadvantages which, in particular instances, may arise from emancipation.

The great argument, however, in favour of abolition, as well as against the continuance of slavery, is founded upon high moral grounds—on those principles of humanity and justice which require it, and the vast benefits which it confers upon those who too long have been the victims of a cruel oppression. For ourselves, impressed strongly with the conviction of the duty and policy of setting at liberty, without delay, every person unjustly detained in bondage in the Danish colonies, we most respectfully, but earnestly, commend this act of mercy to the consideration of the sovereign of Denmark. We hope that the same benevolent regard for the slaves which has led him to promote regulations intended to improve their condition, will induce him to adopt this only effectual manner of accomplishing to any considerable extent his gracious design. Thus will he immensely promote the happiness of the most miserable and defenceless of his subjects, contribute to their rapid advancement in intelligence, virtue, and religion, and, in all human probability, hasten the day when the oppression of slavery shall universally cease, and the slave-trade shall no longer desolate the continent of Africa.

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THE IMMIGRATION BUBBLE.

In our number for the 6th of September last, we quoted from the *Guiana Royal Gazette* the following words: "Immigration has quite ceased, and is no more talked about or heard of. The total number of immigrants who have arrived this year does not amount to a hundred. The government transport from Sierra Leone is shortly expected; but no very brilliant hopes are entertained from that quarter." In truth, it is now notorious that, notwithstanding all the magnificent apparatus set on foot by Lord Stanley, at the instigation of the West Indians, the African immigration scheme, which was always a bubble, is now a bubble which has burst. It seems, however, that, as in the crushing of a cockatrice egg, out of that which is crushed is to come forth a serpent. Instead of inducing them to adopt those improved methods, both moral and material, by which alone the difficulties of their position can be contended with, the disappointment of the planters vents itself in another effort to clutch men. They are absolutely opening their mouth, in expectation of swallowing Indian Coolies!

That our readers may be satisfied that we are not hoaxing them, we beg to inform them, with the utmost gravity, that, on Monday, the seventh day of August, 1843, there were moved, in the Combined Court of Policy and Financial Representatives of British Guiana, by the honourable John Croal, (his Excellency the Governor presiding,) a long string of resolutions, of which the following are a part:—

"8. That it appears to this Court that this colony will never derive an adequate supply of labour from the sources that are now open to it; and that Coolie immigration, as is accorded to the Mauritius, can alone enable this colony to be reinstated on its old footing of productiveness.

"11. That we beg to impress on her Majesty's Government, in the strongest possible manner, the necessity for Coolie immigration being accorded to us as it has been granted to the Mauritius, in order to arrest the progress of distress, &c.

"12. That Coolie immigration once established, and aided by the other sources of supply, would revive the drooping credit of the colony, and inspire the home capitalists with confidence, as they well know by experience that labour in abundance is alone wanting to render British Guiana one of the finest fields in the world for investment, &c.

"Lastly, That his Excellency the Governor be requested to forward these resolutions, with a minute of the Court, to her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, and to add to them such further representations as his Excellency may deem meet, with a view to accomplish the desirable end which this court seeks to attain, for the good of the colony and the general welfare."

It seems, therefore, to be certain, not only that this oriental vision is flitting before the eyes of the planters in Guiana—and, we suspect, not in Guiana only—but that it is also inscribed in black and white, and laid upon the table of my Lord Stanley, in Downing-street. That his lordship should gravely entertain it, even for a moment, we should think scarcely within the range of possibility, but such strange things have been done at the Colonial Office that we must not be too secure. As for the planters themselves, we have found so little occasion to ascribe to them either wisdom or modesty, that the step they have now taken surprises us less than it might have done. We confess, however, it is strange to us that even the Guiana planters should be still tenacious of the egregious fallacy, that "nothing" but a multiplicity of labourers is wanting to render the colony prosperous. And this they say they have learned "by experience." Certainly there are some other lessons which their experience *might* have taught them. It must have become pretty obvious to them by this time, one would think, that they want genial and favourable seasons, by the absence of which, if their own papers tell the truth, they have suffered severely, and in a manner which no "abundance of labour" could have prevented. We suspect that any but very dull scholars indeed would have learned further, ere now, that kind and equitable treatment is wanting to engage the services of *free* labourers, together with the payment of wages without the cost and trouble of an action at law. If the planters really wanted labour, one would think they would make the best of what they have. To see how labourers are treated in Guiana, it might be inferred that nothing was wanted but to drive them to the woods.

Let us suppose, however, that a glut of labourers was the only thing wanted to convert Guiana into a paradise. Even then we should have thought these sagacious gentlemen might have learned by their "experience" two things. The first is, that labourers will not come; and the second is, that when they do come the planters cannot keep them. The first of these propositions is rendered obvious by the failure of the scheme for immigration from Africa. Long and loudly did the men of Guiana call for this, and at last it was undertaken by the Government, with all possible advantages. Yet the "abundance of labour" is not realized. And why not? There are men enough in Africa. True; but they will not go to Guiana. And if the Africans will not go to Guiana, what reason is there to think that the Asiatics would, with so much longer a voyage to encounter, except as the dupes of a system of trickery and fraud?

Not less plain is our second proposition, namely, that, when the planters get labourers, they cannot keep them. What, for example, has become of those they had, we mean the emancipated peasantry? These very resolutions tell us that a large portion of them are withdrawn from the estates. Very well. If they cannot keep one set of labourers at work, how will they keep another? If the old hands find more agreeable ways of earning their bread than toiling in the plantations, assuredly the new ones will follow their example.

We hope, then, that the planters of Guiana will take it in good part when we tell them, that, if it be true that nothing but a copious immigration will restore their prosperity, they are a lost colony; for this they will not have, and, if they had it, it would not answer the end. We, however, take a more cheering view of their destiny. We do not think that their revival depends at all upon immigration. Whatever can promote it lies within the range of fair dealing, frugality, and improved methods. Let them earnestly resort to these, and hope for better times.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have received the *Freeman's Journal*, containing the reply of the Repeal Association to the pro-slavery address of the Irish Americans; but we are obliged reluctantly to defer its insertion till our next.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-venders throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society beg very earnestly and respectfully to call the attention of their friends to the subject of Funds, and to urge upon them the necessity of liberal contributions in aid of the great objects the Society has in view. Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.,) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, OCTOBER 18, 1843.

THE British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee, deeply sensible of the importance of the question of slavery in British India, have had under their serious consideration the Act passed by the Governor-general in council, on the 7th of April last, and subsequently laid on the table of the House of Commons. Although some difference of opinion has existed as to the results of this Act, and on the question whether it would really effect the abolition of slavery, the Committee have felt themselves warranted in coming to an affirmative conclusion on this point; and they have appreciated accordingly the intention and value of the Act. They have had under their consideration the manner in which it might be most suitable to express, not to the public merely, but to the Government—to whom the country is certainly deeply indebted—their sense, and that of the Anti-slavery body generally, as far as the Committee may be taken to represent them, of the justice and benignity of the measure; and they have resolved on an endeavour to lay an expression of their sentiments at the foot of the throne. A dutiful and loyal address to the Queen has accordingly been prepared, and has been forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Home Department for presentation to Her Majesty.

As this subject is now before us, we may take the occasion of noticing a very gratuitous attack made on the Committee, and on the Anti-slavery body generally, in the address which it seemed good to the South Durham British India Society to present to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, on what they, in common with ourselves, regard as the abolition of slavery in India. It is not that we feel pleasure in controversy, or have any desire to provoke it; but our duty to the public and to truth is more influential with us than any other consideration, and they will not allow us in this instance to be silent. The passage in the address on which we find reason to animadvert is as follows:—

"When we call to mind the great body of men who are declared, by themselves, to be zealously labouring to abolish slavery all over the world—when we call to mind their number, their wealth, their influence, and their resources—when we consider their character for shrewdness, as men of business, and, moreover, that they have recognized, in the great Anti-Slavery Convention of three years ago, free labour as the great and legitimate means of expelling slavery out of the world, and India as the grand field for its exercise—we cannot avoid expressing our deep regret to learn that this body has, notwithstanding its great influence, sagacity, and professed zeal to annihilate slavery all over the world, taken no step to induce you to adopt the measures we have now to congratulate you on having adopted, nor have once solicited you to free that vast mass of from ten to twelve millions of slaves to whom you have now given freedom. This conduct is to us more remarkable, as that Society has investigated the actual state of slavery in India, and described it in its official records as even more appalling than that of the blacks in America. We are, moreover, struck with surprise at the silence with which this great body, who display before the world so prominently and continually their burning zeal for the abolition of slavery all over the world, have received this your munificent act of the manumission of ten millions of the human family. When we recollect that, in fifty years of most arduous exertion, this vast body, with its resources and appliances, and with the zealous support of the whole British power, have never succeeded in procuring the gratuitous liberation of a single thousand of slaves, but have been induced by despair to purchase, at a cost of 20,000,000l. of England's money, the liberty of eight hundred thousand slaves, we are lost in wonder at their apathy on this great occasion. We place their acclamations on the purchase of eight hundred thousand negroes side by side with their silence on the voluntary enfranchisement of ten millions of human beings, and find ourselves at a total loss to account for this silence on the ordinary principles of action in zealous and honest men."

We have said that we think this attack gratuitous. We can scarcely see why the South Durham British India Society should make an onslaught on the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society *at all*; but, allowing them to have resolved upon such an entertainment, we cannot but regard a complimentary address to the Court of Directors of the East India Company as a very unsuitable occasion for it. It was deviating widely from their professed and exclusive object, and it discovered an eagerness to pick a quarrel with an absent party, which must have been not a little amusing to the honourable Court in whose presence the farce was enacted.

But, passing this by, what are the merits of the case? The South Durham British India Society are "struck with surprise," they tell us, at the "silence" with which the anti-slavery body have received the "munificent act of the manumission of ten millions of the human family." Why, if this were a fault, it would be one in the commission of which they would be in good company; since, of all the British India Societies in existence, the parent and the progeny, the South Durham is the only one by which silence has been broken. Besides this, however, it may be observed, that the silence of the public is not difficult to be accounted for. Many circumstances have conspired in this case to prevent the act, however really beneficial, from being attended with any eclat. There has been no general public excitement, to which it might have been regarded as a concession; there have been no struggles or discussions in Parliament, by which interest might have been given to it as a victory; there has been no effort on the part of the government to signalize it, nor even any publication of the fact. On the contrary, they do not profess to have abolished slavery, or to have intended to abolish it; although some persons give them credit for having both intended and effected it. Even in reply to the South Durham address, the Chairman of the Court of Directors (as re-

ported by the *Sun*) did not acknowledge that the abolition of slavery either was the design of the act, or would be the effect of it. When the government is thus silent, silence is not unnatural on the part of the public; and those who do speak may have need to take care that they do not say too much. However, as to the Anti-slavery societies, they may perhaps have waited in part to ascertain the course which would be pursued by the committee in London. This body did not think it safe to take any step until the act was laid on the table of Parliament; and since that time, accidental causes have given to their proceedings less promptness than they themselves could have desired. But, if it will be any satisfaction to the South Durham British India Society that this committee should break silence as well as themselves, a few days' patience will supply it to them.

A second accusation against the Anti-slavery body—and, we presume, against this committee in particular—is, that they have not "once solicited" the Court of Directors "to free that vast mass of from ten to twelve millions of slaves." Now, if we were to take this accusation up in its strict import, as referring to the Court of Directors only, we might say that it is not true; communication having been had with that body on the part of the committee. But, even if it were true, what could be its importance, in a case in which the committee have notoriously acted so assiduous and laborious a part? Every reader of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* knows—that the South Durham British India Society, of course, do not read it—that memorials to men in office, petitions to the legislature, measures for securing motions and discussions in parliament, elaborate analyses of parliamentary papers for informing the public mind, systematic public meetings, and other measures, have been of frequent, we might almost say of incessant recurrence. And if it appeared to the Committee that there were quarters to which their efforts might be directed with better hope of success than to the Court of Directors, it is far from being evident that they committed an error in judgment.

It seems to be made a further charge against the Anti-slavery Committee, that they took no step to induce the Court of Directors to promote the growth of cotton and sugar in India. We might perhaps acknowledge this as a fact, without inculpating the Committee very deeply. That they regarded all efforts for the objects referred to with the most lively interest cannot be questioned, or, if questioned, the doubt may be removed by a cursory reference to the pages of the *Reporter*, in which publicity was promptly given to them; but they might reasonably have doubted, perhaps, whether an active participation in such measures came within their legitimate sphere, to say nothing of the hazard which they certainly perceived to be annexed to the extension of agriculture in India, unless slavery were abolished there.

It is further alleged against the anti-slavery body, that they "have never succeeded in procuring the gratuitous liberation of a single thousand of slaves, but have been induced by despair to purchase, at a cost of 20,000,000*l.* of England's money, the liberty of" the negroes. As to the former part of this accusation, it would seem obvious that the efforts of the Anti-slavery Committee may have had some share in obtaining the freedom of the Indian bondsmen, in however humble conjunction with the demands—if such have been made—of the South Durham British India Society. On the latter part of it, it needs only to be remarked that the Society have forgotten that the compensation scheme did not originate with the Anti-slavery body in any sense, but exclusively with Lord Stanley, as colonial minister; that, when it was brought forward in the House of Commons, the sense of the country was strongly opposed to it; and that the Anti-slavery Committee of that day made a strenuous effort—in which they were to their extreme mortification disappointed—to secure a division of the House upon it.

We have thus noticed the only charges against the Anti-slavery body to which we care to reply. When the South Durham British India Society impute to them (as in the paragraph immediately following that which we have quoted) "indifference, inconsistency, or interested (!) motives," and affirm that they cannot account for this "silence" of British abolitionists "on the ordinary principles of action in zealous and honest (!) men," we involuntarily stop, and feel imposed upon ourselves a "silence," which, perhaps, it may not be quite so difficult for some members of the South Durham British India Society to explain.

THE last mail brought advices of a dreadful calamity to the island of Jamaica, in the conflagration of a large part of the town of Kingston. A correspondent of the *Times* seizes upon this awful visitation as another opportunity for venting his unexhausted spleen against the black population. He is so well answered, however, by a writer in the *Morning Herald*, that we shall extract a considerable part of the article.

"The letter of the correspondent is in the main one of those grumbling, indiscreet, inaccurate, and foolish effusions by which West Indian proprietors are so continually writing themselves down, and crying out, to use an expressive vulgarism, 'stinking fish' on their own properties. The correspondent alleges, and the *Times* credits the allegation, that during the late fire at Kingston the black population rendered 'no assistance' towards its extinguishment, but told the authorities to put it out themselves: to these statements are added the ordinary inaccuracies, that the negro earns 3*s.* 9*d.* a day, and a variety of such other monstrous perversions of the truth; and the writer winds up his lugubrious letter with a recommendation for the re-establishment of slavery as a sure remedy against fires, and for every other grievance under which Jamaica labours! Now we wholly disbelieve the assertion, that the negroes generally withheld assistance towards the suppression of the fire, and for this very simple reason, that they were, in reference to numbers at all events,

most interested in the termination of its ravages. Of the 400 houses destroyed, we, with the assistance of authentic data, calculate that not one-half were the property of the white population; the greater number burnt must, we are assured, have been inhabited by the coloured race, or by negroes recently emancipated. The fire raged most violently in Water-lane and Harbour-street, where the black population is very dense; and as each negro had at least his furniture to lose, it is not very probable that they 'enjoyed' the spectacle of their own ruin! The city of Kingston is, with the exception of a very few houses, built entirely of wood, and the houses are almost invariably roofed with shingles; it is, then, evident that, with such inviting combustible materials as these for the fire, nothing but the active and energetic exertions of the great bulk of the population, which consists of about 25,000 browns and blacks, and 5,000 whites, could have prevented its ravages from being continuous with the city."

It is scarcely credible that a person capable of penning the egregious crudities and falsehoods of this writer should be recognised as a "correspondent of the *Times*;" but the manner in which his letter is treated serves to explain the mystery. The leading article is largely devoted to proving the correspondent in the wrong in his general views; so that the letter may be compared to a man of straw, just set up to be set on fire. "Land is returning to its original nothingness in value," says the correspondent; "coercive labour must be adopted; and white labour—a well-chosen and well-organized system and class of our convicts." Upon which points let our readers hear the just and well-expressed sentiments of the *Times* :—

"The very position of the negro, as described by our correspondent—his facility in disposing of his labour—his ability to obtain high wages for it—the fertility of the soil, and the ready supply of all his wants—all these circumstances, while they explain his unwillingness to work much, or to work for little, neither warrant the apprehension that West India estates will become valueless, nor the suggested alternative that they must be provided with coercive labour.

"Of all things, we should especially deprecate the immigration of European labourers into the West India colonies. It would, in our opinion, be tantamount to wholesale murder. The climate—the diseases incident to the country—the nature of the work required—would all conspire to make such a transportation fatal to those whom desperate poverty might ensnare into such an enterprise."

It is worthy of notice, by the way, how one of the correspondents of the *Times* cuts the throat of another. A declares that "the value of land is returning to its original nothingness;" and B claps him on the shoulder for an honest fellow, affirming at the same time that "land sells readily at ten pounds an acre!" We think we have heard of one class of persons in particular, who ought to have good memories.

We direct attention to an important paper which appears in our columns to-day, "On the causes of the present depression of affairs in the island of Jamaica, and its remedy." It has just come to hand from a known and valued correspondent, and is worthy, we think, of serious consideration. We would draw especial regard to the statement of the writer in relation to the alleged want of labour, a point on which the correspondents of the *Times* in particular are making so vehement an outcry. "So little," says the author of this paper, "can labour be said to be scarce in the island, that it is not uncommon now to have grievous complaints from negroes that employment cannot be had, and they are in many places suffering severely in consequence. We have now a considerably greater population than the very limited means of our capitalists enable them to employ. If our properties here were worked by those having the means to pay wages, labourers could easily be got."

We have eagerly searched the American papers for articles of intelligence respecting Texan affairs. Disappointed in this respect, we must content ourselves with expressing our satisfaction at knowing that negotiations are pending, and we hope that information of their successful issue may not be long in reaching us. The vast importance of this subject, in its bearing upon the question of the abolition of slavery in the United States, can scarcely be over-estimated, and we earnestly hope that, with this view, our Government will make it a leading feature in their friendly negotiations between Mexico and Texas.

We insert elsewhere a very interesting account of the arrival in Demerara of twenty-seven negroes from Surinam, rescued from slavery by the vigorous interference of the British Government. Two hundred and seventy-four others are yet in similar bondage, and we learn with pleasure that the British consul at Surinam has, in the name of his Government, demanded an account of them. Would that we could say the same respecting their fellows in Cuba and Brazil!

THE SLAVE TRADE AND THE PENINSULAR DIRECTORS.

We some time since adverted to one of the Directors of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, of the name of Zulueta, having had a true bill found against him in relation to slave-dealing. The trial of this individual comes on at the next sessions at the Old Bailey. We should not have noticed this matter, if it had not been that the accused is a Director of a great public Company, receiving annually large sums from the public purse, and the son-in-law of another Director, and the interest that we saw would in consequence be used to defeat the ends of justice.

Far be it from us to excite a prejudice against an individual, a stranger to us, and under so grave a charge as that of which Mr. Zulueta is accused; but we think justice ought to be done, and the infamous traffic thoroughly inquired into and exterminated. Twenty millions of money

we paid to the West Indies, as compensation for the abolition of Slavery, and twenty-two millions and a half more, according to "Macqueen's Geographical Survey of Africa," for expenses of prevention on the coast of Africa up to the end of 1838. That is, to the present time, the attempts to suppress this diabolical traffic have cost us at least forty-five millions sterling, or about one-fifteenth of our whole national debt! Supposing on the trial the charge to be proved, could we then quietly sit down under such a cost, and see our laws openly violated by men who are living in the heart of our capital, and in almost daily communication with the heads of our Government, and by one, if not more, of the Directors of a public Company, carrying a very great portion of the correspondence of our country, and now straining every nerve to be entrusted with more—the whole of our Indian correspondence? We think not.

That Zulueta will be acquitted we have already said—there is no doubt of it. Governments too often wink at offences committed by the powerful and wealthy. In their cases the forms of justice are, unfortunately, scarcely any thing but forms. The stir that is now made is conceived to be a feint, a mere pretence. If it was not, there are other parties besides Zulueta and Jennings that would be arraigned. It is a fact, we believe, that this trade has been carried on for years, and large sums made by it. It was but the other day that a vessel was pointed out in the docks as having cleared 30,000 dollars in six months by this inhuman traffic. It is commonly reported that Zulueta bought the vessels through others (whose names we have) who fitted them out—and received a commission upon the outfit; and that they were sent out with an English crew under an English commander to a person of the name of C*, at Cadiz, whence they were despatched to Africa with a Spanish crew, the individual sent from London being the man who was put over the Spanish captain to navigate the vessel.

But, notorious as this is, where is the use of it? Is it probable that Zulueta, a rich man, a Director of the Peninsular Steam Company, the son-in-law of another Director—the Company being patronized by the Government, and receiving some 80,000*l.* a-year from it—will be found guilty, however heinous his offence, however obvious his criminality? We think not—not, indeed, from the absence of any power the law has to punish such criminality, nor from the want of zeal on the part of the judges to administer it purely, but from circumstances which, we think, we could without much difficulty point out, and possibly hereafter may.—*Herapath's Journal.*

Biography.

THE following notice of some remarkable circumstances in the life of the late John Minns, who, through the humanity and fortitude of a female slave, was rescued from a watery grave, is submitted to the editor, as worthy of preservation from oblivion in the columns of his interesting journal:—

John Minns was born about the year 1770; and received a good, plain, and religious education at "The Friends' School and Workhouse," (as it was then called,) Clerkenwell—an establishment belonging to the Society, which was then carried on in a large and old-fashioned mansion, said to have been the residence formerly of Oliver Cromwell, or some of his court. The building has been taken down within the memory of the writer, and the site now forms a part of the New Prison, Clerkenwell. From this establishment John Minns was placed out as an apprentice to a baker, a Friend, of Reading. Having acquired a competent knowledge of his business, he absconded from his place for some cause which does not appear, being then, it is supposed, about eighteen years of age. After considerable search and inquiries instituted by his friends, he was given up as lost; but, to their surprise and joy, after sixteen years' hopeless suspense, he was heard of, and as carrying on a prosperous business as a baker, in one of the Bahama islands. It appears that, after so long a life of secrecy in exile, his heart began to feel for his aged father and the rest of the family, and a strong desire to know, should they be still in the land of the living, how they fared. Accordingly, he made a confidant of a friend of his who was about to embark for England, and entrusted him with the secret of his history, charging him to search out his father, and make known to him that his son John was still alive, and give him an outline of his remarkable history. From this time a warm and affectionate correspondence took place between John Minns and his father and sister, which was continued during their lives. From some of these letters the following narrative has been elicited by the writer of this notice, as worthy of being preserved, not only as a testimony to the superintending power of Divine Providence, in preserving the life of John Minns when in imminent peril from shipwreck; but as showing that the negro character is not devoid of either humanity or magnanimity, when fairly tested; and also proving, in the instance about to be related, that the female of that unjustly degraded race is as competent to sustain the several characters of wife, mother, and friend, in all their endearing socialities, as those who assume a much higher standing in the great human family.

It appears that John Minns, after absconding from his apprenticeship, made his way direct to one of the ports (either Bristol or Liverpool), and engaged himself in some subordinate situation in a ship about to sail for the West Indies. This was at a period when the Slave-trade and Slavery were in the zenith of their dark domain, and ruled and reigned over the hearts and consciences of every class of men. Being of sober and frugal habits, John Minns after a few years acquired a little property, and commenced trading in various articles of merchandise amongst the islands. On one of these expeditions he took his passage on board a vessel which foundered when off New Providence, one of the Bahama islands. On board the same ship there was a slave-dealer with several negroes, whom he had to dispose of when he should fall in with a market suited to his purpose. Having been some time at sea, the ship sprang a dangerous leak, and at length was deserted by the captain and crew when about two miles from shore. The slave-dealer found it impossible to save the lives of the negroes by means of the ship's boat, which, indeed, was scarcely equal to carry the captain and crew, besides some other passengers then on board. As a forlorn hope, therefore, he took off the manacles from his slaves, and gave them the chance of saving their lives by swimming.

By some circumstance, whether by accident or design does not appear, the boat put off with all the crew and passengers except John Minns, who was left on board the sinking ship. Not being able to swim, his distress of mind, on reflecting on his hopeless situation, may be more easily conceived than described. With the prospect of immediate death before him, he endeavoured to resign himself to the will of God, and put up a prayer for mercy to his soul. It pleased Providence, however, to move the heart of one of the female slaves on board (named Rosetta) to compassionate his situation, and promptly to devise means for his preservation. She procured a feather-bed from one of the berths, and having securely lashed it to his back, she requested him to lower himself down the ship's side into the sea, when she would assist him to gain the shore. This expedient appeared to John Minns but as a forlorn hope, a hoping against hope; yet, as no other means were at hand, and precious time was wearing fast away, he submitted himself to the generous proposal. His sable benefactress, being herself an able and expert swimmer, was soon in the sea to assist the poor, helpless white man down the ship's side. She then laid him gently on the bosom of the unstable element, with the bed attached to his back, and having secured one corner of the bed-ticks between her teeth, she forthwith proceeded on her perilous voyage, towing her singular cargo towards the shore; and in this way, by the Divine blessing on her unbought labours, they both reached the land in safety.

"Tell me, ye knowing and discerning few,
Where I may find a friend both firm and true,
Who dares stand by me when in deep distress,
And then his love and friendship most express."

After John Minns had devoutly acknowledged the interposition of a kind Providence in his preservation, he endeavoured to devise a suitable retribution to her who had been the means of his remarkable escape from impending death. He at length came to the conclusion that it was his bounden duty, by every means in his power, to endeavour to obtain Rosetta's freedom from slavery. Most of the other slaves had, by great exertion, reached the shore; and, as soon as they were in a condition to be offered for sale, their owner gave public notice of it in the island. John Minns now entered into a negotiation for the purchase of Rosetta; but her cruel owner, instead of sympathizing with his feelings, took the advantage of asking such an exorbitant price for her as was quite beyond his means; and for some time it was doubtful whether the desired change of masters for the meritorious girl could be accomplished. Rosetta was aware of these impediments, and extremely anxious that they should be surmounted, fondly hoping that he whom she had been the means of delivering from a watery grave, would, from motives of gratitude and compassion, be the means of restoring her to freedom, and, perhaps, to her endeared connexions in Africa, from whose embraces she had been so cruelly torn away.

This was indeed a time of anxious suspense to poor Rosetta; but at length, to her great joy, the bargain was concluded: she found herself in the hands of a kind and humane master, and now she neither feared the lash of the taskmaster, nor the abuse of the manager. John Minns soon afterwards commenced business as a baker at Nassau, in the island of New Providence; and, as his trade increased, he found Rosetta of great advantage to him, not only in his business, but in his domestic arrangements. Besides a high character for fidelity to her employer, and a capacity for domestic duties, Rosetta possessed the form and figure of an African beauty, was young, strong, and active. All these circumstances tended to create an attachment in John Minns's mind towards his faithful servant, and he not only determined to free her by law from bondage, but also to make her his wife. This marriage, brought about by events of so extraordinary a character, was productive of a large share of happiness to both parties, and they lived together for several years in great harmony, during which they had several children, until at length Rosetta died in giving birth to an infant, whom she named Samuel. On her death-bed she conversed with great composure on her approaching end, which she was sensible was very near at hand. She spoke very affectionately to her sorrowful husband, and addressed each of her children separately; but it was supposed she had forgotten the infant, when, after a considerable pause, she said, "And God will be a father to the motherless child," and almost immediately she breathed her last. Her loss, as described by her husband, was lamented in the neighbourhood where she resided, and her funeral was attended by a large concourse of the inhabitants, rich and poor, black and white, bond and free. Her husband always spoke of her with the greatest affection, affirming, that during the years she had been his wife, she never gave him a moment's pain, or ever received an unkind word from her lips.

Rosetta Minns used to describe herself as the daughter of an African prince; and it is supposed she was taken captive in one of those cruel wars which are fomented between the chiefs by European intrigue, for the sake of sharing in the spoil—the prisoners on either side being sold into slavery. She appeared to have, at first, but very indistinct views of Christianity, but said that missionaries had been amongst her people. These, from their use of crucifixes, were supposed to be of the Roman Catholic persuasion: but, on further intercourse with Christian society, her mind became expanded and capable of receiving the truths of the Gospel in its purity and simplicity. One of her greatest enjoyments was that of listening to the reading of the Bible, and she was accustomed to speak in terms of great admiration of the efforts of the Bible Society to spread the Scriptures of truth throughout the nations of the world; frequently expressing her anxious wish that her beloved relatives in her native land might become acquainted with the contents of that blessed book.

There occurred a trivial circumstance, which may, however, be noticed here, as characteristic of the abject feeling of caste which pervades the negro mind, in regard to the well-known prejudice against colour in the whites. John Minns was once reading to his wife a letter which he had received from his sister in England, in which the following passage occurred: "Give my love to my sister." On hearing this (as John Minns afterwards wrote) poor Rosetta was overcome with gratitude and astonishment, to find that a female of another complexion than her own could not only love her, but was willing to acknowledge her as a sister—at hearing of which she broke out into tears.

John Minns was employed by the Government as baker to the King's troops, and was much respected in the island. The authorities there had

regard to those religious scruples which he was known to entertain, as respects fighting and swearing. He was never required to take an oath, or to do military duty, although the laws then required every man to bear arms, and to be prepared to be called out on military service. Free persons of colour were subjected to many privations and indignities, and liable, without clear proof of title to freedom, to be reduced to slavery. It was a practice with John Minns, in order to make their title to freedom beyond dispute or cavil, to buy a piece of freehold for each of his children, soon after they were born, taking care to have it legally registered in the name of the child. Two of John Minns's sons (men of colour) had been educated in England, and were persons of considerable talent: they employed their pen in remonstrating against the unjust restrictions to which the free people of colour were then subject. They were not only debarred the franchise, but their oath, when opposed to the word of a white man, was not regarded in any of the courts of justice, which exposed them to much vexation and pecuniary loss from unprincipled and litigious persons. Such has been the reformation of late years in the jurisprudence of these islands, that free persons of colour are admitted to all the rights of citizenship. It is understood that these two individuals are now in office under the Government, and one of them in the commission of the peace.

Home Intelligence.

THE Corporation of Hereford having presented an address to Mr. Everett, the American ambassador, an abolitionist has given them the following rebuke in the *Hereford Journal*:—

TO THE MAYOR AND ALDERMEN OF HEREFORD.

THE newspapers state you have presented an address to Mr. Everett, the American Ambassador. It is not my purpose to tell you what such an address ought to have contained, but I may tell you what in my opinion it ought *not* to have contained. A passage such as the following never ought to have been addressed to a Representative of the United States—a country where so great a portion of the inhabitants are slaves, bought and sold like brutes. Your address surely should not have applauded the United States as

“Possessing a form of government commanding our respect, and that of the whole civilized world, by the *freedom and happiness* it confers on the inhabitants assembled within its empire.”

Can these really be the sentiments with which the city of Hereford regards a country where two millions of its inhabitants (about one-sixth of the whole) are bondmen?—fettered, branded, and flogged, both men and women, at the caprice of their owners! The United States is the government which allows a sixth part of its subjects to be thus shamefully oppressed and outraged; and you, the Corporation of Hereford, come forward and declare that such a government “is the admiration of the whole civilized world, for the *freedom and happiness* it confers on its inhabitants”!!

While Americans, knowing how foul a stain on their country Slavery is, cunningly avoid all allusion to it—their Senate will not suffer the subject to be brought before it; and whilst American senators are prating and boasting of American liberty, the subjects of America—men and women born and brought up on her soil—are being bought and sold, even within sight of the capitol, by public auction, as though they were an ox or a wheelbarrow! Is it not astonishing that you, a British city, a Christian city, should stand forth before the representative of such a government, and laud it for the *freedom* it confers on its inhabitants? In so doing you have despised and trampled on the rights and liberties of two millions of helpless American subjects—men who, though they now groan beneath the oppression of their tyrant countrymen, yet is their right to freedom and happiness just as good as is the right of Mr. Mayor of Hereford, or that of Mr. Everett himself.

Now I ask you for a moment to imagine the feelings with which one of these American slaves might regard your proceedings. Just imagine him groaning under the lash of his taskmaster, and turning his eyes towards England; he beholds your corporation in full procession going to the house of Mr. Everett, to plead with him to exert all his influence—“to let the oppressed go free?”—No such thing—the poor slave beholds your worshipful Mayor congratulating the Ambassador on the freedom and happiness his government confers on the inhabitants of its empire!! “Freedom,” indeed! freedom for twelve millions to treat two millions like brutes.

American gentlemen, like Mr. Everett, feel the shame, the ignominy, with which slavery covers their country; and that, if she is to rank amongst civilized Christian nations, she must liberate her bondsmen: and it must, therefore, have been very relieving, and peculiarly grateful to him, to find a British city, not only conniving at the flagitious conduct of his country, but actually addressing to him bland congratulations on American freedom. Well might Mr. Everett reply to your address, that, “in his next official despatch to the President, he would communicate a faithful report of your day's proceedings.” Oh! shame on the city of Hereford! The corporation might not have thought it their duty to say a word on behalf of the oppressed; but thus to laud the freedom of Americans was unwise—was a cruel mockery.

The papers mention, amongst the numerous company at Hereford who greeted the Ambassador on this occasion, the names of the Bishop, the Dean, and Mr. White, Independent minister; but it is not very evident from the papers what share these reverend gentlemen had in the address. I am myself a total stranger to them and every person in Hereford; but I hope and trust that, for the credit of the city, and for the clearing the consciences of its inhabitants, they will in some way repudiate this address—an address which is no less false and fulsome towards America, than it is injurious to suffering humanity, and disgraceful to the city of Hereford.

I have the honour to subscribe myself,

September 30, 1843.

AN ENGLISHMAN.

MR. BAXTER'S OIL PRINT OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.—We are gratified to learn that his Royal Highness PRINCE ALBERT has consented to become the patron of this interesting work of art.

THE SLAVE-TRADING CASE.—MANSION HOUSE, OCTOBER 14.

APPREHENSION OF CAPTAIN THOMAS JENNINGS.

Captain Thomas Jennings, of the ship *Augusta*, was brought up in the custody of a country constable, named Charles Tye, upon the prosecution of Sir George Stephen, who handed in a certificate stating the nature of the charge.

The certificate, which was from the office of Mr. Clark, the clerk at the Central Criminal Court, stated that at the sessions held on the 21st of August at the Central Criminal Court, Pedro Zulueta, together with Thomas Jennings and another person, was indicted for illegally and feloniously manning, navigating, and employing a certain ship or vessel called the *Augusta*, to deal or trade in slaves, contrary to the statute; upon which indictment Pedro Zulueta, Thomas Jennings, and the other person, had not been arraigned and tried.

Alderman JOHNSON.—Have you anything to say, prisoner?

The Prisoner.—Nothing, Sir, but that I am not guilty.

Charles Tye, the constable, stated in reply to the alderman, that he did not know the prisoner. He went to the prisoner in consequence of information he had received, and asked him whether he was Captain Jennings, of the *Augusta*, and the prisoner replied at once that he was.

Alderman JOHNSON.—Did he say that he was the person meant in the warrant?

Witness.—He did.

The Prisoner.—I am the person meant, but I am not guilty of the offence I am charged with. I was tried upon the charge at Sierra Leone, and acquitted on the 24th of March.

Sir George Stephen said that a true bill had been found, and the trial was fixed for the 27th inst.

Alderman JOHNSON.—Prisoner, are you aware that the day of your trial is fixed?

The Prisoner.—I am aware of nothing at all.

Alderman JOHNSON.—Then take that as notice.

The prisoner was then committed to Newgate for trial.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—[From a Correspondent.]—The universal cry now is, Ruin, or immediate and multitudinous immigration. This, the attorneys say, is the only alternative. I know many, who are men of high standing, who all unite in saying that scarcely any property pays; that many are being thrown up; and that, after this crop, half the estates will be forsaken. How to believe them I do not know. I cannot believe them. But, if it be true, the reasons are these:—The pressure of taxes; of Government loans; and of an enormous outlay of capital in buildings, very unnecessarily incurred when planters were princes; added to the salaries of attorneys, overseers, book-keepers, supplies of estates—and (the worst of all) mismanagement. The latter comprises bad cultivation (sometimes, I verily believe, intentionally), such as bad penning land, so that the ratoons are worthless. A respectable gentleman, who has been a long resident in this country, told me this was the chief secret of bad crops. Formerly plenty of stock was kept—now hardly enough to do the work: formerly the flying pen remained many days in one place—now it is truly a flying and fleeting pen: formerly the cattle were well fed—now half starved; and sometimes they dare not pen them, for fear of deaths. Again, the labourers are badly managed—cursed, cheated, beaten, and driven away. All this I can prove by many, many witnesses. Non-residence would spoil any country where there is freedom—it might do for slavery; but now it is the great curse of this island. An estate near this place was sold last year. It fell very short, and disappointed the purchaser, who talks of throwing it up, will not pen an inch of land, and refuses to put in any more cane, though the overseer entreats him to do it. Why is this? The former attorney, knowing he had to sell the estate, told the overseer to put in as much cane as possible, penning the land quickly, as “he cared not for the ratoons, but wanted to make a good crop this year.” It was done: the crop increased—the estate sold: now the ratoons are worthless, and the estate disappointing the buyer, it is suffered to fall away.

IMMIGRATION FROM AFRICA.—We regret to learn that a communication has been received at the Colonial Office, from the Lieutenant-Governor of her Majesty's settlement on the Gambia, to the effect that there is not the remotest chance of emigration succeeding from that colony; the liberated Africans are represented as no less averse to emigrate than the others, and extreme ignorance is said to have been displayed by those residents of the settlement who have culpably misled the emigration agents of the West India colonies.—*Middlesex (Jamaica) Gazette*.

IMMIGRATION OF COOLIES AND CHINESE.—We understand that a deputation, of which the island agent was one, lately waited on Lord Stanley, having for its object the removal of any impediment to the conveyance of Hill Coolies to the West Indies, and of any restrictions on the free emigration from Sierra Leone, and that his lordship assured the deputation of this desire, as well as that of the whole Government, to encourage free emigration. He, however, expressed his opinion that, with the state of public feeling respecting the removal of Hill Coolies, even to the short distance of the Mauritius, the chance of obtaining the acquiescence of the people would be greatly prejudiced by their removal to so great a distance as the West Indies, if the attempt were made to carry the measure at present; and for this reason his lordship could not bring the subject before Parliament during the present session. The frequent avowal of Lord Stanley of his desire to promote emigration, is justly relied upon as a guarantee that in his refusal to bring the measure before Parliament, during the present session, he is actuated by a conviction that by this course he is more likely to carry out his object hereafter. The day before the deputation waited on Lord Stanley, they were furnished with copies of certain letters relative to the introduction of Chinese into the Mauritius. Very sanguine opinions are entertained of the successful result of this, and equally sanguine opinions are entertained of the advantage we should derive from the introduction of them into the West India colonies. It is said that some Demerara gentlemen in London are disposed to procure them, provided the Govern-

ment will sanction such an alteration of the present state of the law, as would authorize contracts of service being entered into out of the colony, and for a period of four or five years. We are happy to learn that Government seem disposed to entertain the proposition. The alteration in the law referred to would, as regards the Crown colonies, be effected by an order in Council, and in Jamaica by the Legislature. It is rumoured, that one Jamaica proprietor, of large fortune, is disposed to take measures for introducing into this island some of these Chinese labourers, on the expectation that the Legislature will sanction the emigration of Chinese into Jamaica. The subject is expected to occupy the attention of the Assembly during the approaching session.—*Ibid.*

BARRADOES.—We are happy to observe that the weather, which we noticed some days since as having set in so auspiciously for the planters, keeps up, and favours the hope that we are now, after a drought more or less severe for the last four years, about to have a return of our customary rainy seasons.—*Liberal.*

DOMINICA.—We are informed that fifteen fugitive slaves from Guadeloupe, arrived in a small boat at the island of Montserrat last week.—*Colonist.*

GUIANA.—**PURCHASE OF LANDS BY THE PEASANTRY.**—Of the system of the purchase of lands by the peasantry, there has been a remarkable cessation of late. Of the purchase of a large plantation by a united body of them there is no fresh instance, and no likelihood of any fresh instance. Contributors to an undertaking of this kind start on the primeval principle of perfect equality of property and rights. But, by and by, the intemperate, the indolent, the extravagant, the dishonest, become distinguished from their better-behaved partners in the concern, who are only puzzled how to get rid of them. One man pays his instalments punctually, a duty which another neglects, and the discovery is made that there is no concert of purpose to be attained without unanimous submission to the directions of a common manager. The governor was wont to predict great things of those joint-stock speculations; planters smiled at the idea of their resulting in any increase of the colonial staples. If any man's field were independent of his neighbour's, some good might be done; but the irrigation and the drainage of an estate being common to the lots of all the proprietors, however numerous, unanimity is indispensable to success, but proportionately hard of attainment.—*Guiana Times.*

THE CROP.—The crop may now be said to be finished, and will exceed that of last year by about 3,000 hogsheads.—*Berbice Gazette.*

COFFEE CULTURE.—The scheme of farming out the fields has been adopted in one or two instances, and, we believe, with success; we urge its general adoption, at least for a stated period.—*Ibid.*

IMMIGRATION.—It may be recollected that the first government transport, under Lord Stanley's Western Africa scheme, arrived here on the 18th of May last, twenty-one days from Sierra Leone. She landed her thirty-two immigrants, introduced at the same cost as some three hundred, and eight days thereafter set sail again for that settlement, since which time we have neither seen her nor heard anything about her. Thus she has already been upwards of three months on her second voyage, although the computation was made by the West India deputation who addressed the Colonial Office, that even the transport which was to go to Trinidad and Tobago, (whereas the *Arabian* trades between Sierra Leone and Demerara direct,) would be able to complete four voyages a year. It is hardly possible that the colony should long continue to maintain an intercourse so costly and at the same time so profitless. From Rio Janeiro we have no immigrants, none from St. Helena, although we have, at this moment, paid agents for emigration at each of those places.—*Guiana Times.*

WAGES.—In Berbice, upon three or four plantations, the labourers, having been kept for a week or two out of their wages, have cited their employers before the Stipendiary Justices of the peace, and, obtaining warrants, levied execution on the sugar of their own manufacture. The Berbice paper lately contained advertisements for the sale, by execution, of an aggregate of some ninety hogsheads, to be conducted, not by the Provost-Marshal or his agents, but by common officers of the police force. The debt is usually satisfied by extraordinary efforts, before the sugars can actually be sold. In one instance the occurrence was owing to a disputed title to the produce; but the other cases, we have too strong cause to believe, only illustrate the miserable system, from hand to mouth, upon which the planters are carrying on their operations.—*Berbice Gazette.*

ARRIVAL OF LIBERATED NEGROES FROM SURINAM.—The Dutch colonial Government schooner *Henrietta Elizabeth*, Captain Hanson, arrived in the river Demerary yesterday. On coming to anchor she showed an English ensign at the fore, and fired a salute of twenty-one guns, which the fort returned. Soon after the utmost curiosity was excited, by the congregation, in the enclosed area before the Governor's house, of perhaps a score of strange Africans. Some said they were from Sierra Leone, others from St. Helena. It turned out that they had come passengers on board of the *Henrietta Elizabeth*, and that their history was as follows:—In 1823, a slaver, named *Las Nievas*, or the *Snow*, was captured, and taken into Paramaribo, Surinam, for adjudication before the mixed British and Dutch Commission there. The slaves, some forty-nine in number, were of course declared, for decency's sake, free; in spite of which, through the rapacity of the Dutch Government, and the criminality of the British Commissioner, they remained twenty long years in bondage, subject to the lash, the Spanish buck, and all the other tender mercies of the code of Surinam, until their numbers dwindled down to twenty-six, inclusive of the children born during this sore and iniquitous servitude. The survivors and descendants of the original cargo, were the anxious human beings now assembled under the immediate protection (and in the enjoyment, at length, of perfect freedom) of the representative of the British Crown. From such horrors have the strangers been redeemed, partly through the awakened activity of the Foreign Secretary of State, but partly, we have reason to think, through the honesty and zeal of the present British Commissioner, Mr. Schenley, who, however, living in the heart of the camp of the insidious and selfish enemy, threatened with personal

violence, and unsupported by a free press, must be in danger, unless his integrity be encouraged by the Home Government and by the press throughout the British Indies, of giving up his commendable undertaking through sheer exhaustion and disheartenment, although there are several hundreds of *bona fide* free negroes, exposed to the torments from which the twenty-six have happily escaped. When the poor creatures were embarking on their passage for this colony, their shouts made the whole town ring. The wretched Dutchmen frowned and swore, trembling for their dominion over such slaves as still remained theirs, by whom the cause of the acclamations was well understood, and who only burned to accompany their more fortunate brethren.—*Guiana Times.*

MALTA.—Our file of the *Malta Times* informs us that the Anti-Slavery Society there are contemplating some active and useful measures. We extract the following:—

I. *In the way of trade.* Why should not some Maltese merchants follow our Consul to Mourzook? With the exception of two or three months in the year, during the rainy season, that first great city of the interior is as healthy as Malta. Mourzook is a place of considerable trade. The language of the country is Arabic, at least it is spoken by all the merchants. This the Maltese would readily understand. It is impossible to tell what might be the results of the settlement of Maltese merchants in the capital of Fezan. Now that trade is so bad in Malta the experiment should be made. As to keeping open the route, the only difficulty is with the *Arabs*, who, we are quite sure, would protect most cordially English merchants and British subjects.

II. *The Maltese might educate a few (or a great many) African youths, here in Malta,* who would be able to assist their countrymen in the interior, or at any rate carry back with them into the interior European notions and European trades. Certainly the means are small in comparison to the object to be accomplished: but, if there be no beginning, there will be no ending. Twelve lowly men began the propagation of that religion which now fills the civilized world. Even the Moors and the Mahometans have done much in the way of inducing the Africans of the interior to abandon their superstitions, and in teaching them some refinement: why should not the Christians? Are the principles of Islamism more pure and humane and just than those of Christianity?

III. Another object is, *the formation of a Museum in Malta for the collection of African objects of art and natural curiosities.* Some time ago the formation of a general museum was advocated by us. We are sorry Government did not come forward. At the time there was a gentleman in Malta ready to make a very handsome donation of Abyssinian natural curiosities to begin with, if Government would have undertaken the formation of a museum. It is never too late. An African museum established in Malta would receive contributions from all the consuls and their agents in Africa. And such a museum would be one of the most pleasing and interesting objects to strangers to inspect. We hope his Excellency will shortly turn his attention to the formation of an African museum. For, besides promoting a knowledge of the still little known regions of Africa, and of aiding the Maltese in all which can be interesting to them near at hand, it cannot fail continually to excite the sympathy of us all for the breaking of the chains of the unhappy African slave.

MAURITIUS.—**IMMIGRATION FROM INDIA.**—Advices of July 13, from the Mauritius, state that the governor had been authorized to complete the payment of the liabilities incurred for the immigration of the Hill Coolies, and that the vote of the Colonial Legislature for the appropriating 25,000*l.* per annum to the introduction of Indian labourers had been sanctioned by Lord Stanley. It is evident, from the amount stated to have been disbursed since the Hill Coolie immigration was re-commenced under the sanction of the Home Government, and amounting to 50,000*l.*, that a very large accession to the industrious population of the Mauritius must have taken place.—*Morning Advertiser.*

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—**SLAVE CASE IN ALBANY.**—There was a considerable excitement in Albany last week, on account of a woman slave who was claimed by her master. It appears she was brought into this state by him on his travels, and while staying at the Mansion House, in Albany, was enticed away, and being afterwards exhibited at an abolition meeting, her master got track of her, and had her brought before Judge Hilton, on a writ of *habeas corpus*. The judge decided that, as our state laws do not recognize slavery, slaves brought into this state by their masters are free as soon as they reach it. The case would be different with slaves escaping to this state, for which case provision is made by the laws of the United States. The woman was discharged.—*Liberty Press.*

ANTI-SLAVERY IN A SLAVE-STATE.—We perceive that Mr. Cassius M. Clay, of Lexington, Ky., is denouncing slavery through the columns of the *Kentucky Intelligencer*, in the most scathing and indignant language. He denounces it in the name of the soil it dishonours—in the name of an offended God, of outraged humanity, of advancing civilization, and in the name of his insulted and bleeding countrymen. His letters are producing intense feeling in Kentucky.—*New York Evangelist.*

LIBERIA.—**SLAVE-TRADE.**—J. J. Roberts, in his latest despatches from Liberia to Mr. Gurley, Secretary Am. Col. Soc. says—A few days ago 450 slaves were shipped from New Cesters, Her Majesty's brig *Pantaloön* in sight, but unable to come up in time. Colonization, which has been in operation twenty-seven years, has as yet done little to abate the slave-trade. There is no effectual remedy for the evil, but the entire extinction of the market for slaves. Where there is none to buy, there will be none to sell. Nothing had been heard by Governor Roberts of the American squadron.—*Philanthropist.*

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